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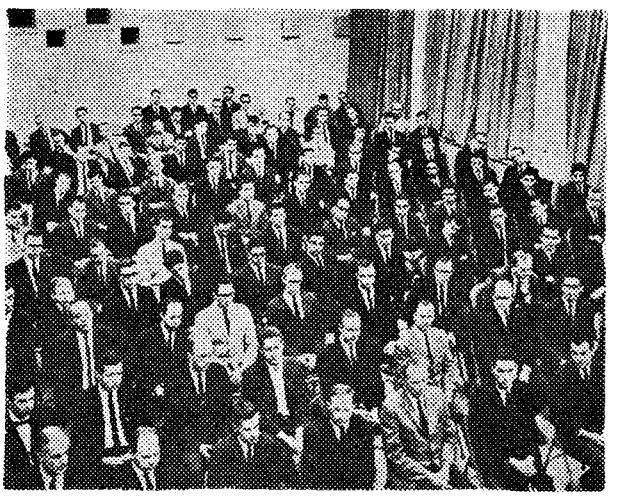

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THE COMMONWEAL
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EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
JOHN LEO, *Associate Editor*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, *Movie Critic*
JOHN FANDEL, *Poetry*
WILLIAM V. SHANNON, *Washington*
ROBERT BARRAT, *Paris*
GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN, *Rome*
J. M. CAMERON, *Great Britain*
JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Latin American Policy

FOR MANY MONTHS now, the focal point of American foreign policy has been Southeast Asia. There are some obvious reasons for this, the most important of which is the danger of a Chinese Communist hegemony in a critical area of the world combined with the no less real danger of an American involvement in that area which would produce neither "victory" (whatever that might mean) nor the possibility of a graceful diplomatic withdrawal. It is a dilemma well designed to keep the Administration and the State Department from creatively facing problems in other vitally important parts of the world.

Yet however important Southeast Asia may be at the moment, little has happened in the past few years to substantially cast into doubt President Kennedy's perceptive observation that the most critical area in the world is Latin America. It was this perception which led him to inaugurate the Alliance for Progress and to give a diplomatic priority to Latin America which it has rarely enjoyed in American history. During President Johnson's term in office, however, the direction of America's Latin American policy has been less clear, no doubt partially because of the whole host of other issues which have dominated his attention in the past six months, and partially because of some of his appointments, the significance of which has not been easy to determine.

In this context, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's article in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "U.S. Policy in Latin America," comes as a timely reminder of President Kennedy's original vision and of the continuing importance of hemispheric problems. In the Senator's eyes, "the future structure of society and the external policy of Latin American nations remain unanswered questions," in contrast with Europe where it is now possible to see some clear patterns. The importance of this difference is considerable, first, because "the future pattern of North-South relationships is not yet settled," and, second, because a united hemisphere in the decades ahead could "play a major role in shaping the world of future decades, regardless of events in Asia, Europe or the Soviet Union." As Senator Humphrey sees it, "Our policy should be designed to discourage intra-hemispheric rivalry which would Balkanize the continent, as well as to prevent Communist subversion which would divide the hemisphere into an endless struggle between Communist and non-Communist states."

THE implementation of this policy, however, will not be easy. This is why Senator Humphrey believes it is crucial that the Alliance for Progress not lose its momentum, and, in particular, that it not become dominated by a sheerly pragmatic approach to Latin American problems. "The Alliance," he writes, "must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development. It must come to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of both the elite groups and the masses of Latin American people." On the difficult question of how the United States should respond to governments which come to power through non-constitutional means, Senator Humphrey (quite rightly we believe) holds that "we should distinguish between constitutional governments pursuing progressive policies and those which shoot their way to power." A simple-minded embrace of "anti-Communist" governments can not only have practical drawbacks but is also false to the spirit of the Alliance.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the Senator's article is the stress he lays on the importance of a reinvigorated Latin American Church. "The Catholic Church," he says,". . . is one of the principal unifying forces in this vast continent. In an age of rampant nationalism, the common bond which the Church provides may have a powerful impact in

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overcoming the separatist tendencies of the age and in achieving hemispheric unity."

It is difficult for us to find fault with Senator Humphrey's analysis. The greatest danger facing U.S. Latin American policy is that all matters will simply be decided in the context of power politics. But such an approach is as amoral as it is, in the long run, impractical. It is amoral because the future of the peoples of Latin America is a critical moral problem, one which will have to be met by a strong sense of responsibility on the part of America toward a continent with critical social and human needs.

In addition, it is also impractical because the only possibility of long-range Latin American stability lies in the development of constitutional democratic governments inspired by the idea of human freedom. This development can, of course, only come from within, but it can be powerfully assisted by an American policy which is willing to provide financial assistance combined with the vitality of a political ideal whose animating spirit is the common good.

Pius and the Jews

COULD and should Pope Pius XII have done more than he did in an effort to save Europe's Jews from Hitler? Did he speak out vigorously enough? If he did not, were his motives purely those of preventing even worse evils? These are the kind of questions raised by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy" and now reinforced by the publication of Guenter Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany,* which Gordon Zahn discusses elsewhere in this issue. The full story is not yet available, but a collection of diplomatic documents now released by the U.S. State Department reveals a little more about the Pope's reasoning.

Diplomatic documents have already revealed that the U.S. and other Western governments urged the Pope to speak out against the "incredible horrors" committed by the Nazis against not only the Jews but the Poles and other conquered peoples. In a talk with an assistant to Myron C. Taylor, the President's personal representative at the Vatican, Pope Pius expressed his concern lest the Allies bomb Rome. If they did, he said, he would be obliged to make a "solemn and public protest" that would injure the Allied cause, especially among Catholics in Latin America.

As for atrocities, the Pope expressed surprise that his previous condemnations of them did not seem strong enough or specific to some people. (The Pope had condemned the fact that "hundreds of thousands of persons had been killed or tortured through no fault of their own, sometimes only because of their race or nationality.") "He explained," the U.S. official wrote, "that when talking of atrocities he could not name the Nazis without at the same time mentioning the Bolsheviks and this he thought might not be wholly pleasing to the Allies."

All this, of course, is a record of a papal conversation as recollected by one man. As such, it sheds little additional light on the matter, unless it is to confirm the theory that the Pope sought at all costs to appear completely "impartial" so as to play the role of peacemaker. As for the claim that the Pope could have criticized the Nazis only if he criticized the Communists too, many would argue that this evenhanded condemnation of abuse on both sides was exactly what was required. Certainly these most recent disclosures are not likely to lay to rest the hard questions raised about Pope Pius and his wartime role.

Shift of the Compass

ACCORDING to the old pattern of empire, African, Asiatic, Oceanic and Latin-American colonies served as sources of cheap raw materials and as markets for products finished in the industrial homeland. Much of this pattern is still in force toward the newly liberated colonial peoples. But they are growing increasingly restive about it. At the three-months U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, just concluded at Geneva, they made an impressive protest against continuing tutelage and poverty. Seventy-seven underdeveloped nations made a concerted and unrelenting attack on the trade policies of the economically powerful. And they won agreement on a new U.N. mechanism to bolster aid and trade.

The Northern industrial countries have provided inadequate remedies for the crucial problems of the Southern hemisphere. Here are found the great bulk of the world's billion people suffering from outright malnutrition, which keeps them from developing enough stamina to resist crippling disease or from

SUMMER SCHEDULE

In keeping with the usual practice, The Commonweal will again appear on alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 10, July 24, August 7, August 21, September 4 and September 18. From then on The Commonweal will resume its normal weekly printing schedule.

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planning, or studying, for the morrow. According to the monthly letter of the Royal Bank of Canada, farming methods in most of these countries have to be modernized to the extent that half the people of each country are shifted from agriculture to industry if adequate shelter, communications, food and clothing are to be attained.

Besides this, the heavily unfavorable balance of trade with the industrial nations has to be righted in order to prevent even deeper impoverishment. That is why the new bloc of "have-nots" at Geneva pressed for such things as commodity price supports, tariff concessions on their products and protective tariffs for their own infant industries. It explains why they even sought a ban on new synthetic raw materials which, like nylon, could obviate altogether the need for certain raw materials they now produce. The desperate need of these peoples has welded them into a formidable numerical bloc in the U.N. which more than ever will have to be reckoned with. It is understandable that they want more and more decisions left to a simple majority vote.

They are convinced that the trade and aid concessions received up to now to curry their favor in the cold war or out of "fitful charity" are no real substitute for a program based on their needs—and that the international trade mechanisms set up by the world's industrial "haves" for their own advantage have to be radically altered. One danger envisioned by the London *Economist* is that in their resentment and impatience, the underdeveloped countries will not seek realizable intermediate goals for the present, will not recognize the vast distance to be covered before their communities can establish humanly decent living standards. All this has tended to thrust Communism and the cold war somewhat into the background. If Geneva is any portent, the compass needle is veering about: a North-South tension in economic matters, at least, may now begin to supplant the East-West confrontation which has resulted from the expansionist thrusts of the Marxist great powers.

One Man, One Vote

"TO THE EXTENT that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen. The weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives." These words from the majority decision of the Supreme Court on the apportionment of state legislatures sum up the spirit of what may be the most significant judicial decision since public school desegregation.

If the Court's decision was historic, its essence is simply stated. Apportionment of state legislatures, the Court held, must be on a "one person, one vote basis," with each legislative area substantially equal in population. Immediately affected are more than forty out of the fifty states, where in fact population density often has little to do with representation in the legislature. In New York State, for example, one district with fifteen thousand people sends one legislator to the lower house; on the opposite extreme another district which also sends one representative to the legislature numbers more than three hundred thousand people. Thirty-four percent of the people of the state are sufficient to elect a majority of the lower house, and at that New York is not the most striking example of lop-sided representation; in Nevada, it is said, eight percent of the population could at least theoretically elect a majority.

There has never been any secret about this state of affairs, and there have always been those who protested against legislative inequality. Nonetheless, in each state the majority which was advantaged by voter disproportion found countless excuses to avoid meeting the problem. As is so often the case, it was this failure to solve the problem by the parties most concerned that brought the Supreme Court into the picture.

There is little doubt that this decision will have far-reaching consequences. Reapportionment in forty-odd states can hardly be accomplished without considerable upset. It is generally believed that the Democrats will be benefited more than the Republicans, since urban and suburban areas will now gain strength at the expense of rural areas. On the other hand, Republicans look hopefully to the suburbs whose importance to them is growing. Furthermore, reapportionment should be a real boon to beleaguered Republicans in the South, where their strength in the cities has been overbalanced by the excessive weight hitherto given to the rural vote.

The basis for the Court's decision is the 14th Amendment provision that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." Clearly a legislative apportionment which makes one man's vote worth only a fraction of another's denies many the equal protection of the law. Most significant Court decisions in recent years have been greeted with outcries and protests, and we suppose this one will be no exception. Nonetheless, the decision was right and necessary; indeed, it might well be argued that it is years overdue. As a decision that protects the basic rule of "one citizen, one vote," this ruling, far from being a "liberal" or "radical" decision, is conservative in the best sense of the word.

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Prayer in School

HOW DO CATHOLICS feel about the Supreme Court and prayer in the public school? Is there a majority view on one side or the other? If most Americans were queried about the matter, I would guess that they would take the recently expressed views of Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles as typical.

The Court's rulings against prayer in public schools, the Cardinal charged, were based on a faulty interpretation of church-state separation which ignored the "distinction between religion and denominationalism" that the founding fathers intended. "In attempting to protect the nation from presumed attempts at denominational domination," he said, "the Court should not itself censor and reject the affirmation by the founding fathers that historically Americans have a religious character bedrocked on the natural law and belief in God."

Cardinal McIntyre sharply criticized the Court's position, which he called "incomprehensible" and contrary to the nation's tradition. As understood by the founding fathers, the Cardinal said, the principle of separation of church and state meant that "there was to be no state religion or no compulsory religious practices, no officially recognized denomination." It is this principle that U.S. Catholic leaders have always supported, Cardinal McIntyre said, but recent rulings of the Court have distorted the principle by ignoring the distinction between religion and denominationalism. "The real intent now," he declared, "is to bring about the separation of religion and state, and not merely to maintain separation between a denomination and the state."

Given Cardinal McIntyre's prominence as one of America's five Cardinals, it is not surprising that his views received wide attention. And I imagine too that in taking the position he did Cardinal McIntyre spoke for many of his fellow-bishops and for millions of lay Catholics. There is, I think, a widespread feeling among Catholics that the court has "gone too far" by "banning prayer in the schools." Yet what interests me is not how many take this view—for this is hardly surprising—but how many either hold exactly the opposite or at least oppose changing the First Amendment even though they disagree with the Court's interpretation.

Our distinguished sister-journal, *America,* for example, said the First Amendment to the Constitution should be considered "unamendable," although the magazine's editors were sharply critical of both the 1962 and 1963 prayer decisions. (The Commonweal upheld the Court's rulings, saying "it is not the function of the public school to inculcate religious piety" and called the Becker amendment "a very dangerous idea.") *Ave Maria,* a weekly published by the Holy Cross Fathers, opposed the prayer amendment and went to the trouble of taking a poll of Catholic editors on the subject. Out of forty-eight responses, eight favored one of the various prayer bills being offered, and five were undecided; fully thirty-five editors opposed such laws. Those who were opposed cited these reasons: "Reluctance to resort to constitutional amendment; concern over weakening of chances for aid to parochial schools should the amendment be enacted; the view that public school devotions with proper concern for all involved are a practical impossibility; and the fear that many parents would consider school prayers as adequate religious instruction for their children." *Ave Maria* than restated its own continued opposition to the Becker amendment this way: "We feel there's wisdom and great value in our not insisting upon forcing our beliefs on others, while being free from situations where the beliefs of others are forced on us."

Religious News Service also took a survey of Catholic periodicals and reached much the same conclusion: "Roman Catholic newspapers and magazines, many of them critical of the Supreme Court's decision in 1962, have generally taken a cautious stance in editorials discussing the so-called Becker amendment." Significantly, perhaps, the *Pittsburgh Catholic* referred to a shift in opinion since the 1962 Regents' Prayer decision and said: "Today . . . Catholic opinion, while not rhapsodic about the (prayer and Bible reading) rulings, seems to recognize their constitutional soundness." And RNS noted the fact: "In effect, there is no Catholic 'policy' on the school prayer issue."

As if to bear out this conclusion, the editors assembled at the recent Catholic Press Association convention in Pittsburgh passed the following resolution: "Whereas the first amendment of our constitution expresses the delicate balance between the rights and functions of church and state, and whereas the proposed Becker amendment threatens to create confusion with regard to these respective roles; and whereas American Catholics are fully committed to separation of church and state; therefore be it resolved that the Catholic Press Association is opposed to enactment of the Becker amendment. At the same time the Association urges that continuing efforts be made to reaffirm our nation's traditional acknowledgment of God and our reliance upon Him, within the framework of constitutional safeguards of religious liberty."

Where then do we stand? On the prayer-in-the-schools issue, I take it that we are really not ready to advise the Supreme Court very convincingly, for the excellent reason that we have not yet thought the matter out carefully enough ourselves. I see no harm at all in our saying exactly that.

JAMES O'GARA

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The Crisis in Negro Leadership Intensifies

Black Backlash

NAT HENTOFF

THE WHITE PRESS has been focusing on the "white backlash"—the presidential primary votes received by Governor George Wallace in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland; the sanctification of the "neighborhood school" in Northern white communities; the resistance to fair housing laws in California; and many other illustrations that whites outside the South are also far from "ready" for integration. Arthur Spingarn, who will surely be the last white president of the NAACP, points to the backlash and blames "extremist" Negro demonstrations. "Friends" of the Negro, such as the New York *Times*, also lecture the Negro militants and warn that they are losing white allies by their "irresponsible" tactics. ("Responsible to whom?" one of these militants asks with tart logic.)

Despite this alarm at the backlash among white liberals and moderates, the phenomenon itself is no surprise to most Negroes—from the apathetic to the most revolutionary. They know, as Charles Silberman has put it in his book, *Crisis in Black and White*, that "the tragedy of race relations in the United States is that there is no American Dilemma." With exceptions, "White Americans are not torn and tortured by the conflict between their devotion to the American creed and their actual behavior. They are upset by the current state of race relations, to be sure. But what troubles them is not that justice is being denied but that their peace is being shattered and their business interrupted."

What the "white backlash" *is* creating in Negro communities, however, is an intensification of the crisis in Negro leadership. The extent of white resistance to such integration as requires more than pietistic affirmations of the American Creed gives added impact to the new wave of Negro militants who claim that the established leadership—with its focus on civil rights—is irrelevant to what must be done. Daniel Watts, who belongs to that new wave, writes in *Liberator* ("the voice of the Afro-American protest movement in the United States and the liberation movement of Africa"): "We in up-South (N.Y.C.) have long had 'civil rights' legislation, F.E.P.C., bi-racial committees, interracial committees, councils for brotherhood, city-wide Human Rights committees, state-wide Human Rights Committees; name it, we have it; despite all these bromides, we are still out in the streets demanding integrated schools for our children, desegregated housing and an end to discrimination in job employment."

A BASIC credo of the putative new leadership has been sounded by Lawrence Landry, a Chicago sociologist who was instrumental in leading two school boycotts in that city and is also engaged in a battle to overturn the "accommodating" Negro political leadership of Congressman William Dawson in Chicago. "The black man," Landry declared a few weeks ago, "has come to the very wholesome conclusion that the white power structure has given the black man all he's going to give him." An answer, therefore, is for the Negro to gain more power—political power through capitalizing on ghetto concentration and economic power through boycotts and social dislocation. Landry is a member of ACT, a "third force action group," which includes such other newer leaders as Jesse Gray of the Harlem rent strikes, Mrs. Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Maryland, and Stanley Branch, chairman of the Committee for Freedom Now in Chester, Pennsylvania. Also part of ACT are some of the more impatient members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and several "young Turks" from CORE such as Isiah Brunson, chairman of the Brooklyn chapter which initiated the abortive stall-in on opening day of the World's Fair.

At a Washington meeting of ACT in April, Nahaz Rogers of the Negro American Labor Council declared: "ACT will not function in a manner that is acceptable to white people. It will do things that are acceptable to Negroes." Yet another new group is RAM (the Revolutionary Action Movement) which considers itself "somewhere between the Nation of Islam and SNCC" and also intends to be part of the international black and Asian movement for "liberation." Max Stanford, Field Chairman of RAM, asserts: "As revolutionary black nationalists, we do not believe that standing on the street corners alone will liberate our people. Rev-

NAT HENTOFF is a well-known writer and critic. His latest book, a study on race relations entitled *The New Equality*, will be published in early August by Viking Press.

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olutionary black nationalists must act as a vanguard to show our people how to seize power so that they may gain some control over their lives."

Neither ACT nor the still inchoate RAM are significant in numbers, but they do reflect a rising conviction among young Negro intellectuals as well as among more and more of those of the "lower classes" who are eager for action that the only way for Negroes to push beyond the present impasse is to implement the kind of philosophy that has been distilled by Daniel Watts: "There are only two things that move men and nations. Power and money." Money is in short supply, the theory goes, but there is the potential massed power of millions of Negroes.

CONFRONTED by this call for black power, Bayard Rustin—the free lance strategist for the older "movement" and the organizer of the August, 1963, March on Washington—points out that in this drive toward power, the Negro needs white allies. Rustin's plan is for a coalition that would include those fragments of organized labor which are not insularly somnolent, the unemployed of both colors, civil rights actionists and even, to some degree, the more committed white liberals. Without allies, Rustin continues, ten percent of the population cannot by itself get enough power. In theory, most of those in ACT would agree with Rustin. When Jesse Gray addressed a rally in embattled Cambridge, Maryland, a few weeks ago, he declared: "If half the Negroes in Cambridge stopped paying their rent tonight, poor whites in the same economic class would join the revolution tomorrow because they don't like to pay rent any more than you." As of now, however, there are no signs in Cambridge of this or any other form of bi-racial, "proletarian" solidarity.

The difficulty with the Rustin proposal, therefore, as it looks to such of the newer militants as Landry and Watts, is that these potential white allies are hardly to be seen so far. Accordingly, the new wave contends, Negroes have no choice but to go it alone until they do accumulate enough palpable power so that they *have* to be reckoned with. Malcolm X, who has met with members of ACT and who is calling for a united front of black political action now that he has left the Muslims, says flatly, "There can be no white/black solidarity until there's first some black solidarity."

The possible danger of this approach is that if it works—if the ghettos are really organized—these concentrations of Negro power may become calcified, producing an even deeper chasm between blacks and whites. Yet this is the direction in which those aspiring leaders are moving who intend to try to take control of "the movement" from such established figures as Roy Wilkins, James Farmer and Martin Luther King.

The Negro civil rights "establishment" recognizes that it has not reached nearly enough of the masses and, in that respect, it is conceivable that if new charismatic black leaders do emerge, they can gain a degree of mass support. The weakness of "the establishment" is that it has not acted strongly and consistently enough to set a direction for "the movement" beyond civil rights. It is difficult to successfully rebut the consensus of the ACT-type of militant who claims that the present civil rights bill is essentially hollow because its provisions will not significantly change the way the masses of Negroes live. To be sure, the bill may help get more Negroes registered in the South, but for what candidates will they have a choice to vote unless they are organized in blocs? And what will motivate more Negroes to register in the North unless they have candidates who recognize and have a program for their most basic needs?

The bill may end discrimination in public accommodations, but if a Negro is too poor to eat in a prestigious restaurant or stay at a comfortable motel, of what use is this provision to him? The bill may also—and here it is at its weakest—diminish discrimination in employment; but if there are not enough jobs for those whom inferior education has condemned to unskilled and low-skilled work, of what use is the bill to *them*? Nor does the bill have anything to do with the radical reconstruction of public education—including its integration—which right now is stunting the potentialities of yet another generation of Negro youth.

Wilkins, Farmer and King have not so far undertaken a concerted drive to educate the electorate, black and white, as to what has to be accomplished beyond civil rights. Fragments of insight occasionally appear in some of their speeches; and more and more local chapters of CORE in particular are working in ghetto neighborhoods on specific problems of housing, education and employment. Yet, with regard to creating a national base for political action to achieve the necessary legislation beyond civil rights, the "establishment"—including Whitney Young of the Urban League—has failed to indicate its understanding of the degree of political and economic change which must take place if Negroes are to have an opportunity to be equal.

They have not, for example, persistently enough attacked the inadequacy of President Johnson's "war" on poverty. They are not calling persistently enough for major public works expenditures—which are badly needed, in any case—for schools, urban transportation systems and the like. Such public works can at least provide the adult unskilled and underskilled with a chance to support themselves and their families while they can still work.

Nor have the established leaders focused strongly enough on such programs as increases in and extensions of unemployment compensation and social security along with a radical revision of urban renewal and public housing policy so that the millions of Negroes

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who live in deteriorating buildings can finally be decently housed—and not in segregated enclaves. There are generalized references to all these essentials in their pronouncements, but there are no comprehensive programs nor is there nearly enough emphasis on the co-ordinated *political* action required to elect legislators to bring these concepts into being.

Most basically, the "establishment" has not clearly enough joined with Bayard Rustin and similarly oriented strategists to call for more planning of the economy (without which structural unemployment will worsen) and for a change in the definition of work in an economy being increasingly reshaped by automation. Their goals have been too narrow, and if they continue to emphasize civil rights with only vague attention to economics and politics, the thrust of new black leadership will make greater inroads on their forces, actual and potential.

So far, none in the new wave—including Malcom X—have themselves been clear enough in presenting programs aimed at attacking the root causes of inequality; but because they do make fiercer sounds and because the masses will become even more frustrated if all they get are civil rights bills, more Negro support is bound to go to those who propose increasingly forceful action, whatever that action is. For all that has been written about the rage and despair among Negroes, whites generally have yet to fully realize that eventually all this intensity has to be channeled somewhere if it is not to explode; and if there continue to be no signs of a broad national coalition, that intensity is going to be poured into various forms of black nationalism. A New York woman who was demonstrating at the World's Fair this spring said, "I have a little baby. I would rather it were dead than have to go through what my husband went through."

A Southern Regional Council report on "the Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources" describes "the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weight of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false—that up there it's just more of the dreary old same. 'Our young,' say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, 'don't care any more whether they die if they've got to go on living like we have to now.'"

What do Wilkins, Farmer, King and Young have to say to the young in Jacksonville and to the woman at the World's Fair beyond civil rights? Civil rights are essential, but they are only the beginning; and if the present Negro leadership does not act more urgently and specifically in political and economic terms, they will have fewer and fewer Negroes to lead because they have so far not shown where it is they're going.

Guenter Lewy's New Book

The Church Under Hitler

GORDON C. ZAHN

IN ONE sense it might be said that the Church has come upon unfriendly times. Despite all the favorable attention earned by the irrepressible humanity brought to it by a John XXIII, despite the exciting revitalization under way at Vatican II, it finds itself the object of a continuing (and increasingly critical) review which has at times verged upon an outright indictment for complicity—at least by silence—in the criminal acts of Adolf Hitler and his Third Reich.

A new breed of German historians and journalists, including some outstanding Catholics, have played a significant part in this revisionist study. The most widely publicized, though perhaps least meritorious in terms of scholarship, has been the contribution of Rolf Hochhuth and the worldwide controversy it has stirred. He, it will be remembered, did not content himself with chronicling the sad failure of German Catholicism to recognize a gross moral evil and oppose it effectively and in time; instead, he chose to indict the leader of the universal Church with a personal, and major, share of responsibility for the atrocity of the "Final Solution."

Now we have yet another treatment of this general theme, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, written by Guenter Lewy (McGraw-Hill. $7.50). It is undoubtedly the best. Professor Lewy's analysis is different from the others in the range of issues it covers, in the probing thoroughness of its analysis, and in the author-

GORDON C. ZAHN is the author of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* and the forthcoming book, *In Solitary Witness: The Life and Death of Franz Jaegerstaetter* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston).

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itative quality of his sources. It is unlikely that its preeminence will be challenged until (if even then?) the Vatican archives for this tragic period are finally made available to scholars for free and independent research. One suspects that the materials made available to this author in the various diocesan archives he visited in Germany are a reliable foreshadowing of what the Vatican deposits will reveal.

It will be interesting to see how this work will be received by that hardy band of apologists who regard it as their sacred duty to denounce anyone who would dare voice even the slightest hint of criticism concerning the Catholic record in Nazi Germany. Lewy has closed most, if not all, doors of escape for them. On the one hand, he presents evidence that is so brutally clear and shocking that one wonders how it has been overlooked until now. At the same time, he presents it in a tone of restrained scholarly detachment that makes it possible for him to so control his personal disapproval of the story he tells that his work never crosses the line separating scholarly analysis from indictment.

The first section sets the stage by reviewing the "prehistory" of the encounter between the Catholic Church and National Socialism. It begins with a survey of the early pattern of firm and open opposition and ends with the "great reconciliation" which took place once what had been an objectionable political movement became "legitimate authority." The negotiations which brought the surprisingly speedy conclusion of a Concordat in 1933 are discussed in careful detail with the result that the author's interpretation, placing a greater measure of responsibilty for this development upon the Catholic parties than is usually the case, becomes quite convincing.

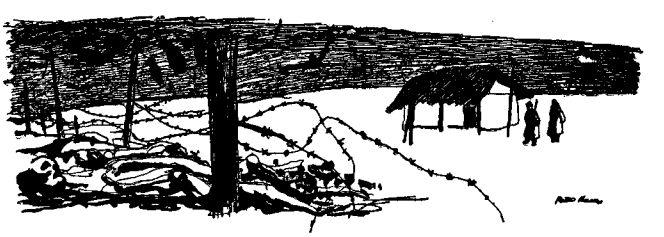
THE HEART of the work, however, is the extensive review of the "*modus vivendi*" issuing from that Concordat. Whether he surveys the suppression of Catholic organizations and press, the harassment of confessional schools, or the areas of Church support for Nazi foreign policies and the war to which these led, the pattern held. None of the repeated violations of the Concordat on the part of the State, none of the offenses against human values initiated by the Nazi leaders, were ever allowed to provoke a final break or even the serious threat of such a break as far as the official Catholic leadership was concerned. Protests there could be, of course; but they were always voiced in a tone of sorrow or indignation derived from the fact that the unshaken loyalty and compliance shown by the Church and its members were not being given proper recognition by the secular authority. Even the one outstanding exception, the firm opposition to the sterilization and euthanasia programs, is weakened by the fact that, in the case of the former at least, theological lines were being drawn to permit confessors to spare individual Catholics the "conflict of conscience" or the personal risk that a rigid conversion of general moral principle to individual moral obligation might have provoked!

Other troubling findings concern the endemic strains of anti-Semitism in German Catholic thought and practice and the implications they obviously held for the absence of effective opposition to even the earliest stages of Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Similarly, the discussion of the attitudes concerning support for, or participation in, the Resistance movement forces the reader to question the official praise and honor that has since been lavished upon the Delps, the Rupert Mayrs, the Lichtenbergs, and all the others who did "redeem the day" by taking some kind of stand in opposition to an evil regime and its immoral policies. It is quite clear that they took that stand alone and with no significant encouragement from their spiritual superiors.

The book concludes with Lewy's rather brief statement and discussion of what he, a political scientist, sees as the three basic dimensions of "Catholic political ideology." So strong is the impact of the facts presented in the earlier sections that one is tempted to skip over what the author clearly intends to be the crowning accomplishment of his whole effort. And, indeed, there is much here that should engage the Catholic reader's mind long after the finished book has been set aside.

The criticisms are not new. Once again the point is made that the Church has only recently, and with some reluctance, come to recognize the virtues of democracy; that the frequently proclaimed indifference to the various forms of government, coupled with its own authoritarian and autocratic structure, has rendered its members too susceptible to the appeals of totalitarianism; that it is perhaps too reticent about stressing socio-political applications of moral principles when doing so would seem to present some threat to institutional security. What is new is the terribly compelling force these familiar criticisms gain in the context of this most tragic historical example of the failure these tendencies can produce.

There are so many important lessons to be drawn from a book like this that one despairs of making an adequate choice. There is, first of all, what one might term the "boomerang effect" of the myth of total Church opposition to Nazism that was so carefully created after the war and is, even today, so fervently (if hopelessly) maintained in some quarters. It is now quite clear—and should have been frankly admitted all along—that the general support given the Hitler regime as "legitimate authority" outweighed whatever opposition was mounted by any



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of the major religious communities of Germany and that even this opposition was generally restricted to limited ecclesiastical concerns. Had there been an honest admission of this fact at the time of the collapse of the Third Reich, the religious communities—and this holds particularly true for the Catholic community—could still have claimed a significant measure of respect and honor if only by virtue of the fact that, however restricted it was, they constituted virtually the only center of any open opposition to the regime.

UNFORTUNATELY, this was not enough. With the eager acquiescence of the Western occupation authorities, the apologists set to work and brought forth an overly idealized portrait of a suffering but still unbending Church rallying its loyal supporters to heroic resistance against the Nazis. To accomplish this dubious success, some of these writers did not even stop short of tampering with the carefully selected documentation they offered to support their case. What had to happen has now happened: objective scholarly research has ripped away the veils of this carefully manufactured mythology.

The tragedy is that now the record which would have looked so good in comparison with what other groups in Germany had been able to do has to look extremely bad because it is compared instead with the false picture that was so laboriously engineered. Even so respected a figure as Cardinal Faulhaber loses much of the luster that was rightfully his, simply because of the misguided attempt to elaborate upon his record and present him as a far more open and forthright defender of the Jews than the cold facts now show him to have been.

A second lesson relates more to the substance of the record described in that it forces us to consider the extent to which the actions of the official Church were marked by a particularistic, rather than universal, concern. Instead of voicing open protest whenever the rights of any individuals or groups were being trampled, the responsible Catholic spokesmen apparently saw their proper range of concern limited to those of their own household. In fact, there were instances in which the violations of the rights of others were condoned or even applauded.

Thus we have the almost eager willingness to accept and praise the Nazi suppression of Socialist organizations and press followed by indignant shrieks of protest when the same violations of rights were directed against their Catholic counterparts. If the question was not asked then, let us pose it now as we read the grim record of the past: should it not always be the occasion for protest when the rights of any—be they Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews—are violated? Or do we stand aside in silence until it is "our own" who are carried off to Dachau or worse?

The sharpest illustration of the shameful effects of such particularistic thinking is the record of silence in the face of the persecution of the Jews. Long before the transports took off for the journey to the extermination camps, there were occasions demanding appropriate and effective protest. Certainly one may hold that, had the excesses of *Krystallnacht* in November 1938 and the officially-proclaimed boycott of the Jews which followed been greeted by a firm episcopal statement advising Catholics not to support so patently unjust a policy, it is very likely that "the Hochhuth problem" would have been nipped in its earliest bud. But, once again, these actions were directed against those not of "our household" with the result that, however much personal sympathy they might have stirred, the course of "prudent" silence ruled the day. Lewy's work should focus new attention to the Church's real responsibilities to and for *all* men—including, of course, Protestants whose rights are still being violated in so-called "Catholic" countries.

This kind of particularist thinking was at least linked to an awareness of religious identification. Another, and in some respects even more scandalous, kind relates to the excessively nationalistic commitment evidenced by German Catholics from the highest ranking prelate to the ordinary man in the pew. Once again we are faced with irrefutable evidence of how this factor can work to distort and block moral judgment in such a way as to support the contention that nationalism should be recognized as the "the characteristic heresy of our day."

The record of the efforts made by the German bishops of the Saar to assure as unanimous a vote as possible favoring return to Germany in the 1936 plebiscite—and this despite the fact that the Nazi regime had already given evidence of its hostility to the Catholic Church in Germany—has to be read in full detail to be believed. Yet they were not alone in this. The German bishops themselves (with the ardently anti-Nazi Galen playing a leading part) issued a proclamation calling for the return of the Saar, a proclamation which included an order that three Lord's Prayers and *Ave Marias* be added to all Sunday Masses on the day of the vote so that this outcome might be assured.

IN SUCH a context we are no longer surprised at the exaggerated nationalism following the "success" of the vote, one of the bishops going so far as to declare that this result could not be explained by natural factors alone —that God Himself had spoken to refute the notion that Catholics were politically unreliable. Nor should it be surprising that, once Hitler's foreign policies reached their logical culmination in a series of clearly aggressive wars, the German Catholics were more than ready to do "their Christian duty" in support of those wars.

Thus, just as a circle was drawn to limit the moral concern of the official Church to Catholics within the national community, another set of boundaries limited its moral concerns to that same national community as against the rest of the world. It is difficult to imagine a

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more persuasive case for the kind of separation of Church and State which will protect the religious community against the temptation of ever again reducing itself to an instrumentality of a warring secular power.

Lewy's careful work should be for us a beginning. It should prompt us to reevaluate the adequacy and validity of the ethical principles which have come to dominate Catholic political philosophy and its application in the real political order. If it is quite clear in retrospect that they were not adequate and certainly not valid as they operated to govern the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Third Reich, it might be most prudent to work on the admittedly pessimistic assumption that the same would be true with respect to the relationships that obtain between the Church and any modern state. From this it would follow that we must give much more thought than we have thus far to building whatever defenses are needed to preserve the integrity of that Church in the face of any future demands that may be made upon it or its members by an amoral or immoral secular authority.

In a very real sense—and this is probably the point of the admittedly uncomfortable focus upon the Catholic Church—only this religious community possessed the full organizational and spiritual potential for an effective resistance to the evil of the Third Reich. To the extent that it failed, as Lewy and the others have shown it did, it would be a serious mistake for us to shut our eyes to that failure in a misguided, and certainly futile, attempt to hide that tragic fact, either from the world we are commissioned to redeem or, for that matter, from ourselves.

One Man's Fancy

The Case for Dirty Linen

WILFRID SHEED

WHILE SHUFFLING through a copy of *Commentary* recently, I was hit with a sudden twinge of nostalgia. Numerous readers were taking Mr. Philip Roth to task for presenting repulsive Jewish characters in his fiction. For a moment, I might have been reading a Catholic magazine: the author could have been J. F. Powers, and the subject could have been worldly prelates. The same note of fretfulness and betrayal were sounded again and again. We know we're not perfect, of course —but supposing *they* find out?

In such cases, aesthetic considerations are given uncommonly short shrift. This is worth a parenthetic comment of its own. People still talk about sacrificing everything for art, it is a piety left over from the nineties, but such sacrifices are rarely performed. "If a writer has to rob his mother," says Faulkner, "he will not hesitate; the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is worth any number of old ladies"—and we all applaud mechanically. But words come cheap, and given a real conflict of interest, these resolutions are quickly forgotten. Even practicing artists find it fantastically hard to make *personal* sacrifices for art (hypothetical mothers are something else again), and the rest of us drop art completely when small threats arise. A work of art that really involves our interests and prejudices will evoke the same philistine chorus from Jews, Catholics or atheists. Non-believing critics have performed some strange arabesques in front of Christian works of art, not so different from Catholic critics confronted with profane ones.

To place art before every other value, even survival, is, then, to take a splendid position which no one should hold you to in time of stress. A fortiori, any Jew in this century who opts for caution over aestheticism will get no quarrel here. (The Catholic situation is somewhat different, since our perennial enemy is not persecution but our own complacency.) But in either case, the caution seems to me misdirected, from a pragmatic point of view. As one of *Commentary*'s readers pointed out, it is no secret that imperfect Jews exist—any more than Mr. Powers' priests are altogether a private joke. Nothing could be more pathetic than the illusion that we are concealing these brightly colored specimens from the world. While we tiptoe around them with eyes lowered, they are advertising themselves cheerfully enough.

In the circumstances, it would seem wiser to do our own parodies of them before the world beats us to it. A writer like Powers is actually much gentler with his victims than an outsider would be likely to be. And the world is not so horrified as we might suppose. No

WILFRID SHEED, author of *A Middle Class Education* (Houghton-Mifflin), and *The Hack* (Macmillan), contributes a regular column to these pages.

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one ever expected priests or Jews to be perfect—this is a curious supposition that groups make about themselves, that the world expects them to be better than they are.

The world (which is, of course, sometimes us and sometimes them) is much more alarmed by hypocrisy and lack of candor than by the seven daily falls of Father Urban. And there is an irony here, because hypocrisy and lack of candor are very close to what many of us mean by loyalty. One man's loyalty is another man's impenetrable stupidity or guile: the loyalist either doesn't recognize his faults, or else he simply won't admit to them; or worst of all, perhaps he doesn't consider them to be faults at all.

It is only when both sides agree at the very least on what constitutes a fault that conversation becomes possible. Self-criticism is the painful first step in the encounter. If America had not offered Babbitt, Willy Lohman and so many others as sacrificial victims, Europe might still suppose that Americans were unaware of Babbitt or Willy Lohman. By the simple gesture of admitting to what everybody can already see, we establish human contact with the outside. And this seems to me precisely the case with Powers' priests and Roth's Jews.

This does not mean simply throwing our vulgarians to the wolves, and disclaiming all connection with them. They are, if not ourselves, at least a fair satirical comment on ourselves (which is another reason why we must do our own parodies). Sinclair Lewis was Babbitt, Arthur Miller is at least something of a salesman. We must love our fat-ladies because, as Richard Gilman has said, they are ourselves. Catholics, Americans, etc., who writhe with embarrassment over everything Catholic or American, who apologize in advance for invisible vulgarities, are only disclaiming themselves. "I know not the man": I know not the fat lady, is a wistful cry that fools nobody.

WHAT EFFECT does fictional self-criticism have on hard-core bigots? No doubt there do exist many simple souls who will always draw all the wrong conclusions from other people's self-criticism, and use it against the self-critics. These people do not realize that a similar job could and should be (and probably has been) done on themselves: that everyone, without exception, must be humble before he can sit at the table with the others. But the main thing to note about these people is that it doesn't make any difference what you tell them: through eons of Catholic or Jewish reticence they have steadily believed the worst anyway, and any self-criticism they are likely to hear now will be considerably milder than their own myths. (Besides, few of them read books—which makes them somebody else's fat lady, I hope.)

The presence of bigots should be no reason for people in a free country to go around cramped with caution, not this kind of caution anyway. The handful of people who still read fiction are comparatively non-incendiary and frustratingly hard to shock. The mother-hen cluckings over Roth and Powers therefore makes depressing listening at this stage: they constitute in themselves one of the few things that might still prejudice a modern reader.

If self-criticism makes the best diplomacy, it goes without saying that it makes the best internal policy. There has been a lot of useful sociological mirror-gazing recently, to the point where people are saying that the sociologists have taken over from the novelists in this respect. But this would certainly be a step backwards, for popular sociology is basically only the old comedy of humors. The other-directed man and the organization man are ingenious creations, but they are only abstracts, like the phlegmatic man and the choleric man, and they can only move in the pre-determined grooves of their author's theses.

In *The Sun Also Rises* two of the characters fall to discussing why a third one is so awful. There is no special reason, they finally decide, he just is. And the reader knows exactly what they mean. Sociology does not quite cover such cases. It can point out mechanical flaws and curiosities; but if you want to know why we're so awful, the novel is still the place to go. To ask it to cover-up this information for any reason whatever, is like asking the doctor not to tell you the truth. You will wind up with a pretty funny kind of doctor, and a pretty funny kind of fiction, if you do.

Half Moon Sailing

"Listen!"
No sound on the vacant deep.
The paddles we heard before
Are absent. The night's
Silence
Suffocates, or could, were it not
For the chief's spreading conviction
That the world is as wide as round.
It is. A movement involved with the night,
And anyone senses distance.
Beyond what width of sea we cannot span
We know that the shore
Surrounds us. Lost?
No, nor mired in calm.
The sails may hang in the black above,
But they hang waiting. The damp on the cheek
Will be wind in the sails.
Even now,
Waiting to sail,
We are sailing.

JAMES SULLIVAN

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THE SCREEN

Murder, Anyone?

COMEDIES in which murder plays an important theme have been with us for a long time; the movies have had their share of fun films with corpses strewn all over the place in hilarious satires like "Kind Hearts and Coronets" and mystery thrillers like the more recent "Charade." Now two new comedies have arrived from abroad, in both of which only a single murder occurs, but it has a shock effect that almost takes the film out of the comedy class and transforms it into a grim commentary on our times.

Italian movies like "Bell' Antonio" and "Divorce—Italian Style," both set in Sicily, haven't exactly made Americans feel kindly or loving toward the narrow-minded Sicilians and their moral codes. But perhaps Italians, especially the movie-makers, don't feel kindly or loving either. So "Mafioso," the new Dino de Laurentiis presentation so well directed by Alberto Lattuada, comes as no surprise. The first half of the film is done amusingly and with extraordinary charm. After some good opening shots of the factory in Milan where Antonio (Alberto Sordi) works as an efficiency foreman, we see Antonio starting off on a two-week vacation in Sicily so that his wife, who has never been there, and his two little girls can get to know his family and homeland. Even though efficient Antonio has everything on the trip timed to the minute, the journey is light-hearted and gay and shows off "sunny, carefree" Sicily and many points of interest along the way.

You never saw so much welcoming and greeting and kissing as when the travelers arrive in the hot, dry town of Colanzano and rush into the waiting arms of Antonio's family. Antonio's wife (Norma Bengell) takes a pretty dim view of all this—the arid country, the eating, drinking, the customs, the family's suspicions of her, the long, unpleasant walk to call on Don Vincenzo, the head of the community whose *noblesse oblige* is neither very noble nor obliging.

Director Lattuada handles all of these things expertly and succeeds in exposing Sicilian weaknesses and foibles without making the people silly caricatures; futhermore one begins to understand why Antonio, even after many years in Milan, has not grown away entirely from his people, and why his wife and his family take to each other in warmth.

Then comes the shocker. Don Vincenzo convinces Antonio that he's the favorite son (the Mafia is not mentioned). "Will he do as Momma says?" "Yes." So he's told to deliver a letter. He's crated and shipped by air to New York. Met by Italian thugs, he delivers the letter. He's given a gun, delivered to a barber shop where he shoots the intended victim, and flown back to Italy. When he crawls in bed later, he still hears the shots he fired and the crashing barber shop glass.

Alberto Sordi is superb in this role of a man who loves his family, his people, his homeland—a fine chronometrist, and now a murderer. And the large cast who support Sordi are good too. As a film, "Mafioso" is a disturbing commentary on a people, on a land known as "sunny, carefree" Sicily. And its ironic finale is unforgetable.

ALSO commenting on a people and their mores is an export from England, but "Nothing But the Best" is more caustic than funny. Frederic Raphael's script, stemming from a short story by Stanley Ellin, seems at first a parody of "Room at the Top." Jimmy Brewster, played to perfection by Alan Bates, works for a high-class real estate agency and his ambitions are exceeded only by his false notions and unscrupulous methods connected with his reaching the top. More important than doing a good job, insists Jimmy, is having a good background and using it to advantage. When he meets a down-at-the-heels playboy (Denholm Elliott) who has the right background but misused it, Jimmy invites him to share his room. In exchange for which, this aristocratic Charlie Prince is to teach Jimmy the ropes: how to talk, think, and act as if he had gone to the right schools and clubs and parties all his life.

This part of the picture is quite amusing and has some brilliant satire as Charlie puts Jimmy wise to what's Upper. Jimmy learns that the most successful gate crashers are those who look as if they're doing the party a favor by being there at all. He also learns during the hunting lessons "to kill with a smile—dead ducks tell no tales." But perhaps Jimmy is learning his lessons too well. After Charlie has sponged off him for quite a while and taught him *almost* everything while Jimmy even fed his mentor ("one must feed the goose if one wants him to lay golden eggs") Jimmy himself gets fed up and kills the goose.

The picture still has a long way to go at this point: Jimmy buries Charlie in the basement, and then has to sleep with landlady to quiet her even while he is courting the boss' daughter and fighting harder than ever to reach and stay at the top. While Clive Donner has directed Alan Bates and the entire cast well, and they all hold our interest up to a point, we suddenly realize the story is getting repetitious and we don't find any room for us among all these cool, calculating characters. The story is too long and stretched too thin. The smart British slang and dialogue pall after a while. David Deutsch's handsome production with some beautiful color photography gilds the whole movie nicely, but after the murder Jimmy's greedy determination no longer seems amusing, and even Alan Bates' charm cannot cover the obvious moral that all is not movie gold that glitters.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Philadelphia—Still Closed"

New Orleans, La.

TO THE EDITORS: This letter is a footnote to Dennis Clark's candid analysis of the posture of the Philadelphia Archdiocese in the face of racial strife. It appears to be widely believed that the Church in New Orleans is a model of courage and skill in its work toward racial justice. In fact, New Orleans was selected as one of the ten pilot cities to implement the work of the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. The sad fact is that the Church is excessively timid. When the Catholic schools were integrated in 1962, the hopes of white and Negro leaders in the local community were visibly high. However, since that eventful day, little has happened to reinforce the image of a Church courageously committed to the cause of the Negro. On the contrary, the delaying tactics of the Archdiocesan officials have caused deep frustration and resentment in Catholic circles.

To wit: (1) All the Catholic hospitals in New Orleans remain segregated; (2) The Home Visiting Program, which brings whites and Negroes together on equal footing for frank discussion, is not permitted to be publicly associated with Catholic institutions; (3) Church authorities have backed away from direct confrontation with segregationist forces at Buras and Belle Chasse, La.; (4) Local expertise in race relations is not sought; during the past two critical years recognized scholars have not been consulted; (5) A handful of clerical diehards speak openly—though not from the pulpit—of the "wisdom" of segregation; (6) Priests are discouraged from participating in demonstrations or in meetings held to plan direct action.

The April 15th communiqué from the Chancery Office best indicates the policy of the Archdiocese. The opening paragraph was a source of puzzlement and frustration for many priests. "In conformity with a previous Chancery directive regarding demonstrations by some of our fellow citizens, it is again respectfully suggested that *since these efforts primarily concern legal rights, and are only indirectly related to the Church,* priests and religious should not take part in public demonstrations without the explicit permission of the Most Reverend Ordinary" (my italics). The position that demonstrations primarily concern legal rights and are only indirectly related to the Church is especially bewildering in the light of the forthright statement of the American Bishops in 1958, declaring that "the heart of the race question is moral and religious." Furthermore, John XXIII in *Pacem in Terris* states with unequivocal clarity that human rights are rooted in man's nature and it is the function of human law not to confer but to protect these God-given rights.

The communiqué continues: "This must not be interpreted as a negative or indifferent attitude on the part of the Archdiocese. Rather should it be understood that the intervention of the clergy or religious could be misunderstood by many of our fellow-citizens and used against the Church." Translated, this would seem to mean that nothing should be done that would disturb the complacent middle-class white community. Apparently it is believed that a laissez-faire policy is the one best calculated to change long-standing prejudice and bigotry. What the policy ignores is that non-intervention is already "used against the Church." There is a widespread impression among lay and clerical leaders, Negro and white, that the Archdiocese is only tepidly committed to the cause of racial justice—and it appears that the Church officials are unaware of the resulting bitterness and alienation of white and Negro Catholics.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of the New Orleans story is the fact that Church policy dictates that all action be initiated at the top, thereby stifling the creative and imaginative involvement of subordinates. A final quote is revealing: "The Most Reverend Archbishop is keeping abreast of all developments in this field of human relations, and he will give appropriate directions as circumstances demand."

FRUSTRATED PRIEST

Lakewood, Ohio

TO THE EDITORS: Mrs. John Wheatley scores some telling points in her letter [May 22] about the lack of church leadership in racial problems. When one rallies 'round a cause, however, there's always the danger of oversimplification. Thinking gets fuzzy when strong feeling sidesteps facts, and no cause is served by half truths.

One example Mrs. Wheatley gives of poor church performance begs for clarification in the interest of fair play. Anyone even casually acquainted with Cleveland and its Catholic schools will recognize the Sisters of Notre Dame as the congregation that "abandoned" a school in a racially changed neighborhood. It might be closer to the truth to say the neighborhood abandoned the Sisters.

For the record: the Sisters finally moved Notre Dame Academy (my alma mater) out of the city because enrollment had dwindled to the point where simple economics had forced the move. Their new school in outer suburbia (an area with no other Catholic girls' school) has a growing student body with 160 freshmen scheduled for next Fall.

Notre Dame Academy was one of three schools along a three-and-one-half mile stretch of one main street. Statistical studies proved the area could not support three tuition schools. The nuns closed the Academy, but still maintain the other two. Each has an integrated student body. In addition, the Notre Dame order teaches at several of Cleveland's inner-city parishes—

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the ones that point up most of the social problems related to race, poverty and migrant families. They also staff mission schools (colored) in Alabama and California.

And why the crack about foreign missions? If the Church approves missions, and if a sisterhood spends many years in service in India, why does that service suddenly become "ironic" because new problems have developed on the home front? This kind of reasoning leads down the path to nonsense. JEAN M. WILLIAMS

"Republican Campaign Strategy"

Milwaukee, Wisc.

TO THE EDITORS: Walter Dean Burnham has again provided us with valuable political insights ["Republican Campaign Strategy," May 29]. But I feel he has fixed his attention so firmly on changes in the Republican Party that he glosses over their cause: the revolution in the Democratic Party.

Since 1932 the Democrats have clearly identified themselves with the working people in the big cities. Since this constituency includes millions of Negro voters, the Democrats inevitably became the champions of equal rights for Negroes throughout the country. It was this fundamental decision to side with the Negro in his battle for civil rights that has cost the Democrats the white supremacist vote in the South. Since 1932 the party has been made up of an impossible coalition: the most conservative politicians and voters in the country (from the South) allied with the most liberal (from the Northeast). The Republicans (both wings of the party) rested between the two poles of the Democratic Party. In the fifties the impossible coalition came unglued, as Southerners voted for Eisenhower and began sending Republicans to Congress.

This revolutionary shift in the makeup of the Democratic Party is the fundamental change now taking place in American politics; the Republican activity is just a reflexive response to this. They know they are the natural heirs to the Southern voters forced to leave the Democratic ranks, and they are fighting over just how warm a welcome to extend. But their decisions are only of relative importance; they can speed up or slow down the shift, but they can't reverse it.

I think President Kennedy understood these changes and was trying to make the best of them. Knowing his party had to lose the white supremacist voters, he used the old political brokerage to hang onto them as long as possible, while building the foundation for a new Democratic Party in the South through his Negro voter-registration drive. As the majority in the South goes Republican, a minority will be left that is moderately liberal, or at least moderate. The Democrats will nominate moderate candidates to appeal to these voters and can thus count on practically all of the Negro vote as it slowly becomes a factor to reckon with. As things stand, no other choice is open to them. Democratic politicians will have to retire, change parties, or change to a more moderate position on Negroes' rights.

With Lyndon Johnson at the top of the Democratic ticket the shift of allegiances in the South will be slowed; but this will just be a temporary hesitation in an inevitable, long-term reorientation. All the Republicans have to do to pick up a majority of the South's present voters is to remain a few shades more conservative than the Democrats; they need not go overboard to a radical-right stance. It would be a serious error for them to nominate Goldwater, who would alienate all their support in the Northeast, perhaps permanently.

Republicans also have to avoid an Eastern city-slicker, who would leave their Western voters apathetic and slow down the shift of Southerners into the party. If they are wise they will put up a man like Nixon, who appeals to the West and South and is not wholly alien to the Northeast. It is no error for them to thus "work the same side of the political street" as President Johnson, because it is *their* side of the street. Johnson can dance from one side to the other, appealing personally to "older America" while preserving a secure base where his party's strength lies, in "newer America." The Republicans will probably not try to outdance Johnson; they will build up their party where its natural strength lies, looking forward to '68 and beyond.

I do not view the re-alignment of voters in the two parties with the alarm that most political writers have shown. Both parties will have to continue to nominate moderates for the presidency, because both will need to retain their regular voters and attract as many independents as they can on the strength of their candidate's personality or other gifts. The major change will be in Congress, where we will see those conservatives who have been voting together for years gradually coalesce into one party. We may even hope that in 10 or 15 years we will have, (1) political parties that will take actual positions on issues, positions that will be fairly clear to the voters, and (2) a Congress that actually

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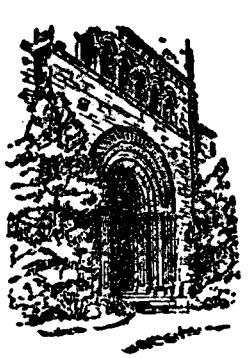

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represents the spectrum of political opinion in the country. As long as a third of our eligible citizens do not vote, Congress will not really represent the people. And as long as the Democratic Party is schizophrenic, neither party will speak with a clear voice.

(Rev.) JOSEPH RUSSELL, S.J.

"When Is Doctrine Pure?"

Brooklyn, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: I read Mr. Michael Novak's article ["When is Doctrine Pure?", May 15] with great interest. No doubt, he expresses a widespread feeling about Vatican II and the assumed needs of a theological renovation. Precisely because this feeling is widespread but practically never articulated, I wonder if Mr. Novak could clarify some point I, and perhaps others too, wish to raise.

As I understand him, Mr. Novak charges that the theology elaborated by and after the Council of Trent ("immobile theology," he calls it), was adapted to a certain historical period, but not to others, not to ours. It expresses an "anti-historical orthodoxy," he writes, yet he nowhere specifies what would a "pro-historical" or "historical" theology be like, and confines himself to a negative but still only vague criticism. Consequently, I should like to ask the author whether a new theology —"relevant to the historical realities of the present"— would not be similarly dated several generations or several centuries hence?

The question arises: should we change our theology at certain intervals by tying the new version to the scientific and historical perspective of a given period? Would such a theology not be loaded down with fads, slogans, and popular ideologies—and become extinct together with these ephemeral forms of fashion? We have a strange example of what a new theology may be when temporary issues invade its concern: the movement now identified with Tillich, Bultman, Bonhoeffer and recently with Bishop Robinson, author of *Honest to God*, is so obsessed by the "needs of our time," technological achievements, and the lack of Christian faith among beatniks and pop-singers, that it is ready to throw religion overboard as not suited to "men come of age." These theologians actually blush when they say "God" instead of "ground of our being."

Another example of a new theology is the one Father Teilhard de Chardin has invented, and which concludes, like many heresies before, that the Super-Christ will emerge when Super-Mankind is ready for him. I do not know whether Mr. Novak looks with favor at these "well-adjusted" theologies, but it seems to me that he is not immune to the historicism they illustrate.

When Mr. Novak suggests that theology should not remain "outside of history, in midair," I wonder in what sense could one say that Christ's theology was "inside history": was it in any sense adapted to the historical realities of the Roman Empire? And did it readjust itself in order to survive Rome?

THOMAS MOLNAR

Reply

Cambridge, Mass.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. Molnar, as usual, raises important issues, some of which I hope he will enjoy seeing discussed at more length in those parts of *The Open Church* which, unfortunately, *The Commonweal* did not have space to reprint.

In writing *The Open Church*, I was not and am not now convinced that the "theology elaborated by and after the Council of Trent" ("immobile" is a description Cardinal Léger made famous, and Popes John and Paul have suggested in their conciliar addresses) "was adapted to a certain historical period." It seems to me to have been beside the point even in its own period. Borrowing bad philosophy and over-reacting to a time of crisis because of abysmal preparation for that crisis, Tridentine Catholic theology seems to me to do minimal justice to the Catholic faith, at that or at any time.

What I detect as most ill-conceived in the methods of that theology is its lack of machinery for self-criticism and self-revision. It does not seem to begin with Scripture or the Fathers, and judge itself in their light. It seems to move from a philosophical and theological viewpoint which has pretensions of being timeless, unchanging, unconditioned. I know of no such viewpoint. The starting places, words, conceptions and methods which theologians use in trying to understand the Christian faith are all of them historically conditioned. No men enjoy a "pure" or "eternal" understanding of the Christian faith.

Theology should be historical in two senses. In the first place, a theologian ought to be aware that every word he uses has a history; and he ought constantly to be trying to deepen his knowledge of that history, in order to understand well the instruments of his own understanding. The majority at the Second Vatican Council is trying to convince the minority that they must go back beyond Trent, back to Scripture and the Fathers, if they are to recover a full and accurate understanding of the faith committed to us.

In the second place, a theologian—and even more a preacher—should be aware that the same words are understood differently by every generation. If one wants to communicate the same *understanding*, one often must use different words. It does not surprise me, for example, that some theologians blush when they say "God," in view of the uses to which that holy name is put by those demagogues and cynics who know how its utterance softens certain hearts and blinds the judgment of little ones. Those who have reverence

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for the true God in these days, must often need speak of Him in new honorable ways, since the ordinary coinage is so devalued. (Theological inflation sometimes follows too much spending by the government.) Pope John was explicit about these inherent liabilities of human language in his opening address at the first session of the Council.

The words of Christ were themselves dated soon after His death, and the primitive catechesis collected only those which it found most relevant, often in accents and in words which had not been used by Christ at all. Even in the four gospels we find adaptations to the different audiences for whom the gospels were intended. Catholicism is not a religion of the letter, but a religion of the understanding. By the time of Nicea, not even the customary words of Scripture and the Fathers sufficed; new, philosophical words were needed to express the Church's understanding of her faith. It might also be argued that the Greek and Roman way of approaching reality were already beginning to supplant the previously Semitic view of the world shared by Christians.

As I also argue in my book, though briefly, Christian theology (which is much more explicitly developed than Christ's theology, so far as history tells us) most certainly was "adapted to the historical realities of the Roman Empire," and most seriously readjusted itself "in order to survive Rome." In the age of the martyrs as in the age of Constantine, the Church became Roman: Roman law, Roman language, Roman metaphors and ways of conceiving the relation of God and man, Roman organization, Roman pride, Roman love of pomp and display. Not all of this, I opine, was good for the gospels. Much of it endures, needlessly, to this day.

I will leave Tillich, Bultmann, Bonhoeffer, Teilhard de Chardin (it is interesting that laymen in America now rush lightly to the use of "heresy" where custodians of the Holy Office fear to tread), and even Bishop Robinson to defend themselves; I would only hope that more American Catholics emulate Mr. Molnar in reflecting on what these writers have to say about the meaning of the Christian faith at this juncture of history, whether to agree or to disagree with them.

But I would like to close by noting that the problem still facing philosophers and theologians in the West, as I argue in the last section of *The Open Church,* is not that of choosing between historicism and the non-historical. There is no possibility of finding a starting place outside of history. But this does not mean that *within history itself* there is no starting place which can enable us to be self-critical, to revise our methods and our language in accordance with our developing understanding, and to be consistent with ourselves. On the contrary, as Bernard Lonergan has long been showing, this starting place is given us in our own self-critical, self-revising, self-consistent drive to understand. There is no other place to authenticate our criteria of relevance and evidence, no other final court of appeal, but this drive. Yet this drive suffices to save us from historicism. I would think that a theology which develops its methods in accordance with this drive would throw much light on the problems of the development of doctrine, and the ambiguities of language in history.

About these ambiguities: it seems to me that the "progressive" bishops are the true conservatives, truly evangelical, and that the "conservatives" minimize the Christian faith by yielding it to a bad philosophy, a misleading mode of expression, and a social order not less just or sacrosanct than many others but, still, one of the clay pots which the mustard tree was bound sooner or later to split asunder in its growth. Others might understand "conservative" differently, but that's why words and understanding need renewing. I think Mr. Molnar will agree.

MICHAEL NOVAK

BOOKS

America's Religious Heritage: Some Current Dilemmas

Religion and American Constitutions. By Wilber G. Katz. Northwestern University Press. $3.50.
This Nation Under God. By Joseph Constanzo, S.J. Herder and Herder. $7.50.

by William B. Ball

HOWEVER others may react to the Supreme Court's decisions on religion in education, book publishers should be slow to complain. Books on Church-State appear to be on the increase, and—considering the outbursts which seem still to await us in that field—that is all to the good.

Professor Katz, constitutional scholar and chairman of the National Commission on Church-State Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, presents a notably illuminating essay on the doctrine of "neutrality" which he considers the Court to have pronounced as controlling the state in its relationships to religion. Neutrality, he realizes, is hard to define (or perhaps is all too easy to define as being identical with that degree of accommodation or of separation which one is pursuing). Katz's concept of neutrality compares interestingly with that of Professor Kurland, whose *Religion and the Law* stirred up such interest two years ago. For Katz the concept of neutrality is not a formal theory. His is not a rigid concept of neutrality, and in this respect I believe that his view of the law is more meaningful than that expressed by Professor Kurland in his now rather celebrated book.

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Principally, *Religion and American Constitutions*, originally given as the 1963 Rosenthal Lectures at Northwestern University, takes up the neutrality principle as applied to public education and as applied to religious schools. Defending generally the recent Supreme Court decisions on religion in public education, Katz nevertheless warns of the necessity of "avoiding pedantic absolutism in applying the neutrality principle," and points out areas, such as "teaching about" religion, which (with some misgivings) he believes offer possibilities of fair treatment to religion without inviting dangers of establishment.

Signficantly, he adds: "Are we to interpret the First Amendment on the assumption that serious hostility is the norm in interfaith relations and that legislatures and school boards should therefore be enjoined to take note of religion only by staying away from it? The neutrality interpretation which I have been defending is based on the assumption that American religious pluralism is not so charged with hostility that religious issues must be avoided by enforcing a rigid principle of separation."

Katz tells us that the policy of neutrality, in the area of aid to religious schools, requires that government be vigilant "lest the exertion of its expanding powers handicap the exercise of religious freedom." Since the religious schools are mostly Catholic, Katz is particularly interested in Catholicism's views on religious liberty. He relates that ten years ago he thought that "the ambiguity of the Catholic stand on religious freedom might be sufficient reason for the withholding of equality in programs of aid to education. Today, I am certain that it is not."

We should hope that Professor Katz's little volume will receive a very wide reading. It represents the careful thinking, upon extremely explosive problems, by one of the few genuine and knowledgeable neutralists in the land.

Father Constanzo's book is really a collection of essays whose subject is more carefully specified in a subtitle, "Church, State and Schools in America." He divides his topic upon lines paralleling those of Professor Katz, discussing first religious liberty in education (chiefly public), then federal aid to education. While COMMONWEAL readers will find a good part of what Father Constanzo says upon these topics to be pretty familiar terrain, a number of chapters will merit their very special attention.

In an introduction, Father Constanzo, too, examines the "neutrality" which some have said the Supreme Court has posited in Church-State matters. He, however, sees the Court as engaged in the process of "fashioning a principle of neutrality which at the present seems to travel the road of abstention for the sake of the complainant rather than the road of impartiality which offered more positive prospects for solution in the *Zorach* decision." He then moves on to lay a basis for all his subsequent discussion through a splendid chapter entitled "The Religious Heritage of American Democracy." Pointedly, he attacks the charge that "American political democracy is essentially a process, wholly a method whereby any change may be effected provided it is done peaceably and according to the rules in the contest of ideas and by the majoritarian determination of suffrage."

In his discussion of religion in public education, Father Constanzo closely analyzes the principle of neutrality as applied to the classroom. Without attempting—as so many critics have—to take us back over the language of the Court in *Schempp* and *Engel* as the means of enlightening us respecting the teaching of those cases, Father Constanzo ponders the philosophic implications of the holdings and concludes, in effect, that the Supreme Court has now established a religion of secular humanism in the public schools. "Secular humanism," he asserts, "is atheistic humanism." Those who consider the Court to have gone thus far in its holdings (this reviewer is not one) will find eloquent statement of their fears in *This Nation Under God*. At the same time, Father Constanzo's keen eye to philosophic implications of Court opinion in the religion-in-education cases serves us well by providing warning against developments which we may yet have to face.

The Persistence of Social Myths

The Idea of the South: Pursuit of a Central Theme. Ed. by Frank E. Vandiver. University of Chicago. $3.95.

by Leonard F. X. Mayhew

UNLIKE the provincial New Yorker in the old story who explains to the visitor from Iowa, "We pronounce it Ohio," almost everyone thinks he can easily and accurately identify the South. It is deceptively simple to define the South with reference to the Confederacy; the former slaveholding states; legal segregation; a cotton, tobacco and peanut economy, or solidly conservative-Democratic politics. The stubborn persistence of Southern regional identity surpasses even that of New England and certainly that of the amorphous West.

In his contribution to this book, Professor George B. Tindall of the University of North Carolina, contends that the idea of the South must be examined "in the context of mythology, as essentially a problem of intellectual history." Only the cohesion of a number of social myths can explain the continuing subsistence of the "idea" of the South under the various and changing ingredients of the region's history.

To place these ideas in the context of mythology is not necessarily to label them, at least not all of them, as fictitious. Myths of this sort combine empirical data with the pattern in which these data are conceived, either by those directly involved or by observers. This accounts for the fact that everyone who speaks of the "South" intends something over and above the observable facts. The relationship between these facts and the myth may at times be tenuous and indirect, which is not by any means to call it unreal.

The South has had a number of experiences, precisely as a region, which are unique in United States history. These experiences form the

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source of the South's need for self-identification and, consequently, of the instinct of others to follow suit. They also explain why search for identity is a *leitmotiv* of Southern literature, and perhaps even why there is such a thing as Southern literature.

The experiences which have been distinctively the South's can easily be catalogued. Slavery must probably be number one. Secondly, the South is the only section of this country to have experienced the trauma of defeat in war. The racial situation which followed Reconstruction, pitted against the almost homogeneous ethnic background of the white population, reinforced regional isolation and self-consciousness. Other areas of the country have been identified with agriculture but none has felt to an equal degree the same dire economic results. The cotton economy of the deep South impeded the region from sharing in the boom of the Industrial Revolution until the present. The importance for the South of this experience can hardly be exaggerated.

The Idea of the South is the record of a symposium sponsored by Rice University to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary. The contributors are all Southerners, six of them academic figures and the seventh, a prominent publisher. Their findings, while certainly not startling, ought to be of interest to Southerners, to others who live in the South (a distinct group themselves) and indeed to anyone concerned with the continuing history of the nation.

In one way or another, their thoughts circle around the two main sources of Southern distinctiveness: the relationship of the races and the continuing economic depression to which the New Deal and now the Better Deal have alerted national attention. Out of these social ills have grown the vicious circle of Southern political conservatism, the limitations on the area's best leaders and the reverse psychology of isolation metamorphosed into aggressive independence.

The authors of *The Idea of the South* are more successful in delineating the roots and myths of the South than they are in evaluating its present status or projecting its future. This was probably unavoidable. The South is changing, perhaps too rapidly for careful analysis to keep pace. There is a New South, the product not only of economic advances but of liberated minds. Ralph McGill, Martin Luther King, Hodding Carter, Harry Ashmore and Brooks Hays—to keep to the public arena—do not belong to any, real or fictional, Old South. They have, however, through a complex spiritual genetics inherited at least a portion of their virtue from that source.

The New South had its nativity in the Great Depression, when a presidential report labeled it "the nation's number one economic problem." The semantics are significant. The Old South was separatist and engendered loyalty to state and region before the nation. The New South is gradually being integrated into the mainstream of American history and experience. Southern poverty brought assistance and, eventually, industrialization. This has contributed, obliquely but substantially, to the revolution for civil equality which marks the present South. Whether in the future the idea and fact of the South will continue to exist is an open question.

Three Points of View on a Dull Man

The March-Man. By Keith Botsford. Viking. $4.50.

by Brian Wilkie

KEITH BOTSFORD's newest novel, *The March-Man*, is an exploration from three points of view of the life and personality of Franklin Carey, a financially successful American businessman of the 1920's who marries a wife from a totally different world, the old Italian aristocracy. Carey returns to California in 1939 and shortly thereafter summons his wife, Marzia, and their two children to join him; between the invitation and reunion, however, he falls in love with a younger, shallowly vulgar American woman who appeals to his reawakened hunger for the strident, hideously "normal" Americanism of southern California, with its resort hotels, orange juice, lawn sprinklers, and sport shirts worn hanging out.

Both frightened and fascinated by her husband's seamy affair, by his loss of interest in his career, and by the whole atmosphere of Decline-of-the-West *d'après* Disney, Marzia suffers a mental breakdown which leads to divorce and the alienation of Franklin from the affection and understanding of his son Harry. The novel consists in Harry's (and the reader's) attempt, after Franklin's death, to understand what kind of man he really was.

Botsford is a good writer, almost all the time, and especially when he is engaging himself with material worthy of his talents. This novel has two overarching themes: the enormousness (and enormity) of the change that has taken place in the civilization of the Western world over the last few decades, and the contrast between the old world of Europe and the new one of America. The section of the novel that describes Marzia's first arrival in New York, where she immediately has a fur coat stolen, and her subsequent trip across the dreary and still depression-ridden continent to the climactic obscenity of California is about as good an evocation of nightmarish banality as anyone is likely to have read since Waugh's *The Loved One*. Yet it is here to America, Marzia feels, that her ancient civilization is to gravitate; "the West will wash up on these shores and the air be hard to breathe."

Some readers—I am one of them—may well be inclined to squirm whenever they have to undergo once again the gimmickry of the multiple-point-of-view novel, but it is possible to use it skillfully, and in general Botsford does. It is to his credit that he uses the technique to help him tell his story rather than simply to send the reader over an obstacle course as a worthy exercise in itself. Still, the technique does have one major disadvantage here; its very elaborateness throws into clear relief how uninteresting and commonplace a man the central character, Franklin Carey, really is. Carey doesn't deserve to obsess his son's memory, to occasion

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so intense a quest for understanding. One feels as though astronomical observatories had decided to team up for stereoscopic bird-watching. On the other hand, the novel does succeed in affirming with some power the *principle* that human beings need to suspend judgments if they are to understand one another.

Perhaps Botsford is trying deliberately to show Franklin in shrunken dimensions; perhaps he means to dramatize the paltry insignificance of the Californian or American scene by fixing our attention steadily on his hero's blankness. But I don't think so. (Nor, for that matter, am I certain that the author wants us to feel nothing but despair over America.) I suspect Botsford wishes readers to see in Carey a kind of ironic and ambiguous tragedy. If so, that is asking too much. Most of the people in the novel, including all the Americans, are hardly worth reading about or listening to. But on a more general and impersonal level that is of sustained importance in the book, the level of moral geography and cultural criticism, *The March-Man* is an admirable, powerful novel.

Developing Nations

Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development. Edited by K. H. Silvert. Random House. $5.50.
The Ideologies of the Developing Nations. Edited by Paul E. Sigmund, Jr. Praeger. $6.

by Robert W. Crawford

"NATIONALISM is the acceptance of the state as the impersonal and ultimate arbiter of human affairs." In his brilliant introduction, Dr. Silvert says that this definition, or reduction, of the four components of nationalism, has been "employed as hypothesis and organizing concept" in all the individual contributions included in this volume. He states that all studies of nationalism seem to fit into one or more of the following general categories: nationalism as a formal juridical concept; as a symbolic concept; as ideology; and as social value. He says that the purpose of this book "is to explore the transformations in the presently underdeveloped and intermediately developed worlds, the powerful movements leading to an end of classical colonialism and the establishment of new constellations of nations, or at least of political states invested with formal sovereignty."

The book, with present or former members of the American Universities Field Staff as contributors, is divided into five parts, with separate country studies assigned to each section. Part one, entitled "The Historical Distance from Tribe to Nation," includes studies of Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Bolivia. Part two, entitled "Leadership and the New States" includes studies on Indonesia and the Philippines. Part three, "Culture and Ideology" deals with the Arab World and Brazil. Part four, on "Caste, Race, and Nation" includes The Indian Union and The Republic of South Africa, while part five on "Class, Values, and Nation" considers Argentina, Israel, and Japan.

Unfortunately, no consideration is given to any sub-Saharan African country other than the Republic of South Africa. Nevertheless, the book is bound to provide both the academic and lay reader, interested and involved in problems of nationalism and development, with sensitive and analytical insights into what is taking place today in the countries covered. Most of the contributions provide a lucid historical base to underline developmental steps already taken or anticipated in the areas under consideration. Particularly thoughtful is the treatment of political and economic nationalism in Patch's chapter on Bolivia. Nolte's chapter on Saudi Arabia is essentially historical, while Dupree's on Afghanistan is a combination of the historical with a socio-anthropological approach. Hanna's chapter on Indonesia is a thoughtful presentation of the political developments towards nationalism, while Ravenholt's on the Philippines concludes that economic and cultural nationalism are the main inhibitors of progress there. Gallagher's chapter on The Arab World covers, I believe, too much. By encompassing an "area," rather than a country (even one as complex as the Indian Union described so well by Harrison), incisiveness is sacrificed.

Munger gives us a penetrating study of the nationalisms in the Republic of South Africa; in the studies by Silvert on Argentina and Olson on Japan we find "the inability to make a definitive choice between traditionalism and modernism and the consequent employment of some of the tools of modernism to maintain a stubborn traditionalism." And Bayne's study on Israel depicts poignantly the difficulties in the development of a nationalism based on the sudden contact of diverse backgrounds and tempered by the special obligations of this state not only to its internal national members, but also to the Jews in many areas abroad who may or may not be Zionist-Israeli.

Perhaps one of the most attractive aspects of this book is the fact that while clearly defining the assumptions behind the studies, the editor states that although "we hope to indicate what influences play upon certain groups of persons at specific times to produce given consequences . . . it is not our intention to say that these events had to occur in this fashion or that the patterns we may discover are applicable everywhere through all time." He states further that "a willingness to discard some of the traditional ways of defining social 'stages' would appear to be necessary if our view of the combined effects of speed of change and contemporary ideology is to be molded by evidence and not by prejudgment alone." This is indeed a refreshing approach in contrast to a tendency, at times, upon the part of some of our leading scholars in identifiable fields of the social sciences, to select and force evidence into a preconceived disciplinary mold.

Dr. Sigmund's volume serves as a welcome companion-piece to Dr. Silvert's. It is a selected compilation of speeches and writings of various national leaders of Asia, the Middle East (in the broad sense), Africa, and Latin America. It is indeed valuable to have at hand excellent translations (where necessary) of the calculated statements of the individual leaders who are playing, and who have played, significant roles in many of the countries of the underdeveloped world. My main criticism of this

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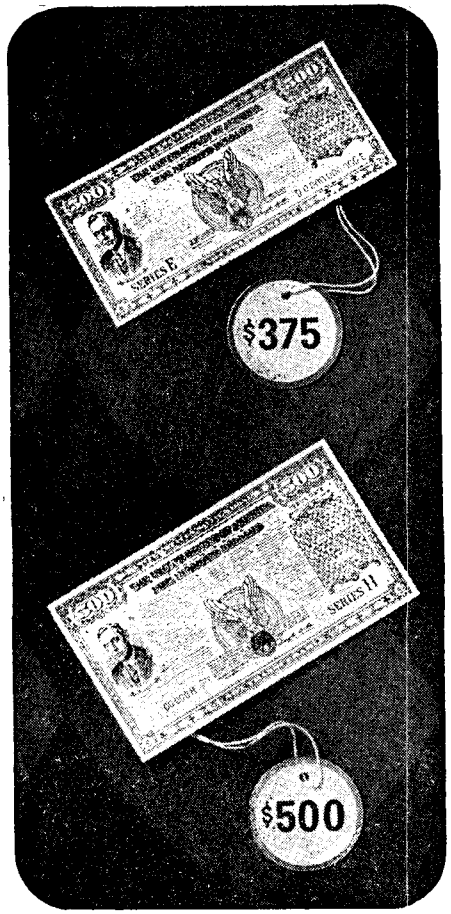

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work lies in the implications of its title: "The Ideologies of the Developing Nations." Rather, I believe, it should be called: "The Ideologies of Some Leaders of Developing Nations." Dr. Sigmund's point of departure is the "crisis of modernization." He states that "in contrast to the conflict of ideologies that has characterized European political life during the last century," the leaders of the developing nations, with few exceptions, "are united by a group of beliefs that give expression to common feelings about the past, present, and future." He says further, that although "particular problems of individual states also vary in accordance with their special situations," nevertheless "all the developing nations are undergoing the same general experience, and their reactions to it are similar in theoretical content and practical application." This may be valid if one culls the statements and writings of a series of national leaders to justify a particular point of view, but I believe the evidence of Dr. Silvert's volume at least offers an effective challenge to this assumption.

Another weakness of Dr. Sigmund's analysis is that it is based essentially on and documented by the words of leaders, with relatively little attention to the differences between the nation-states under consideration. He does, however, divide the developing nations into three groups: those who are "traditionalists or conservatives"; those who are attempting a balance between the "traditional structures and the radical transformation of society as a whole"; and those who wish to eliminate traditional groups from "political influence and power as obstacles to the process of social and political transformation" although not aiming at their destruction. He also points out, as a balance to his earlier statement, that "the popular will from which a government or ruling party must derive its legitimacy in a democratic age seems to consist as much in what the people *should* desire as in what they *do* desire." He also describes validly the attitude of the "uncommitted nations" when he says that "in addition to their role as the moral conscience of humanity, the uncommitted nations also view themselves as a balance or intermediary between the two power blocs." Dr. Sigmund reaches the conclusion, in his introduction, that if one omits the traditionalists in the underdeveloped countries, the other types, the "radicals and the reformers," share a body of political and economic theory, distinct from both Western liberalism and Soviet collectivism. It is a sufficiently coherent body of ideas to be called an ideology—"the ideology of modernizing nationalism." He defines the goals of modernizing nationalism as: "national independence; rapid economic development; the creation of a nation-state governed by a regime based on a populist identification of leader, party, and people; regional federation; and nonalignment in international affairs."

Spare and Honest

Dancers on the Shore. By William Melvin Kelley. Doubleday. $3.95.

by Michele Murray

THE FIRST story in *Dancers on the Shore* is a simple first-person narration by a young mulatto girl. Her father is a prominent white man in the Southern town where they live after the Civil War, and her mother, daughter of a plantation owner and a slave, is his backstreet mistress. All the women on Liberty Street fill the same role; every evening the men visit them but no men live there. One day Jennie's father does move in to stay in open defiance of all the conventions of his society. He vows never to leave, but, in fact, is made to, and the story, "The Only Man On Liberty Street" tells how the town forces him back to the white wife he despises.

It is not an especially original story either in subject or in technique, but it is a fine story, nevertheless, and its excellences are typical of those found in most of the sixteen stories in this book, a fineness that comes from the *tone* of the telling—very spare, very quiet, very honest. A story of injustice, it is neither shrill nor sentimental because Kelley, in command of his material, can forsake the easy approach in favor of a treatment that will yield the maximum artistic effect.

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In only one story does Kelley allow anger to master him, and that story is his single complete failure. In "The Servant Problem" we have a Negro maid of impeccable excellence contrasted with her white employers, a self-indulgent woman and her husband, who is full of repressed angers and desires, which he relieves by humiliating the maid. Not that such situations do not exist, but Kelley's story is not a convincing presentation of such a situation—in more ways than one, it is black and white.

Only one of the other stories stands alone—a good little sketch, "Not Exactly Lena Horne;" the others fall into three groups. Two are told from the point of view of a small Negro-Cuban boy and one of these, "The Poker Party," is a wholly successful study of the fierce and useless pride of a man whose life forecloses the expression of any but his impotent anger at the mismanagement of a card game.

Of the remaining stories, six deal with the Dunford family and five with the Bedlows. The Bedlows—father, mother and two sons—are what social workers call a multi-problem family. They are poor Negroes; elder son Carlyle is something of a sadist and younger son Mance, often his brother's victim, turns up, in the weak tale, "The Life You Save," in a settlement house class for problem children, where his teacher is Peter Dunford, out of the other cycle of stories.

The Bedlow material is worked out well enough in three slight and predictable tales, but only the two longer stories stand out: "The Most Beautiful Legs in the World," in which Carlyle tells of his efforts to prevent his best friend from marrying the girl with those splendid legs but, alas, only one arm; and "Cry For Me," in which Uncle Wallace Bedlow, up from the South with his two guitars and hollering voice, conquers the New York folk singing game and goes out in a burst of glory.

For all the random virtues of the Bedlow cycle, the heart of *Dancers on the Shore* is in the linked stories about the Dunford family—the doctor father, the mother, elder son Chig, sister Connie and brother Peter. The milieu alone is arresting: they are well-to-do Negroes whose children attend private schools and Ivy League colleges, and the ambiguities of race touch them only obliquely. Their public existence as Negroes is only occasionally in evidence.

It is, rather, with their private relations that Kelley is concerned. After a terrible revelation of the pathos of lovelessness (in "Aggie"), Eleanor Dunford returns to the husband she wished to divorce. In "A Visit to Grandmother," Charles Dunford pours out his lasting resentment of the affection his mother gave to his worthless brother when they were children. In another fine story, "St. Paul and the Monkeys," Chig struggles to free himself from the beautiful, conventional and demanding girl he loves but who will force him into the lawyer's life he no longer wants. Connie Dunford, with Peter's help, accepts the consequences of love and unmarried pregnancy in "Connie," and in "What Shall We Do With The Drunken Sailor?" and "Christmas With A Great Man," Peter Dunford learns more of the ways of the world.

Not one of these stories is unsatisfying; indeed, such is the consistent interest of the Dunfords that one reader, at least, looks forward to a fuller representation in a novel. Certainly the material is there.

As is customary with story collections, the quality of Kelley's work is variable, but the range of his imagination, combined with the evidence of his best work, offers impressive evidence of the continuing development of the talent that was also visible in his first novel, *A Distant Drummer*.

REVIEWERS

William B. Ball, a member of the New York and Pennsylvania bars, is a specialist in church-state legal problems.

Father Leonard F. X. Mayhew is a parish priest serving in Atlanta, Georgia.

Brian Wilkie teaches in the English Department at the University of Illinois.

Robert W. Crawford spent four years in Morocco with the USIA. He is presently Assistant Director for Humanities and Social Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation.

Michele Murray has reviewed for *Jubilee*, the *Washington Post* and other journals.

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